

[FROM THE AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST FOR JANUARY, 1892.]

NOTES ON THE CHEMAKUM LANGUAGE.

BY FRANZ BOAS.

When George Gibbs wrote on the tribes of western Washington (Cont. to N. Am. Eth., vol 1, p. 177), the Chemakum still numbered 90 souls. When I visited Puget Sound in the summer of 1890 I learned of only three individuals who spoke the language—one woman, living near Port Townsend, and one man and his sister, who live at Port Gamble. As the Indians of Puget Sound are very restless in summer I had great difficulty in finding any of these individuals. After a protracted search I succeeded in meeting "Louise," who lives at Port Gamble, where she makes a living as a washerwoman. Although she speaks Chemakum occasionally with her brother, she uses mostly Clallam in conversing with the other Indians of the village, and the Chinook jargon in her intercourse with the whites. She has, therefore, undoubtedly forgotten part of her language. She stated that neither she nor her brother and the woman living near Port Townsend speak Chemakum fluently and properly. Besides, she was somewhat addicted to the use of liquor, and as she herself and the white man with whom she lived indulged alternately in their libations, the conditions for the collections of good linguistic material were not very favorable. Still, I was able to collect about 1,250 words, grammatical forms, and sentences, which were all corroborated by repeated questioning. From this material the following notes have been derived:

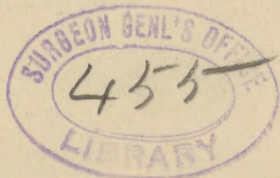
According to Gibbs the original country of the Chemakum, who call themselves Aqoxúlo,* embraced Port Townsend, Port Ludlow, and Port Gamble. According to the uniform testimony of Louise, a few Clallam and a Puyallup, they were restricted to the peninsula between Hood canal and Port Townsend.

Phonetics.—The vowels are not quite as variable and indistinct as in the neighboring Salishan dialects, but still obscure vowels are

* ɣ=deep guttural k. ɛ=e in flower. tɔ=dento-alveolar t.

q=ch as in Scotch "loch." l'=explosive posterior l.

! following a letter indicates more than ordinary strength of articulation.



very frequent. Diphthongs are rare. I am sure only of the occurrence of ai and au.

The following consonants are found in my list of words:

h. k, ɣ, q. y. n; t; s, c, tɕ. ts, tc. m, p. l, l'.

The following sounds begin words:

ā, a, ē, e, ě, i, ō. u is not found in my list as an initial sound. All consonants with the exception of y and tɕ are found as initial sounds. Combinations of consonants in the beginning of words are very rare. I found only the following examples: tsɣ-, striking; sptcō'o, berry basket.

The following terminal consonants and combinations of consonants are found in my collection:

k, ɣ, q.	n; t; s.	ts, tc.	m, p.	l, l'.
ɣt	ks			ɣl'
lt	ɣs			tsl'
nt	ns			
tst				
tct				

The Article.—It seems that nouns have two genders, masculine and feminine, which have separate articles.

qō hē'na, my father.	kō hē'na, my mother.
qō ō'tlēt̄s, thy house.	kō hē'elōtsēt̄s, thy canoe.
qō hā'maa, the tree.	

The plural article is the same for both genders:

hō tsitsqa'll'ē, my cousins.

In interrogative sentences other articles are used—qa for masculine, tca for feminine, qā for plural.

ɣō'ox̄ qa hē'nēets?—Where is thy father?
 ɣō'ox̄ tca hē'nēets?—Where is thy mother?
 ɣō'ox̄ qa tētc'ukl'as?—Where is my arrow?
 ɣō'ox̄ tca hē'elōɣul'ēs?—Where is my canoe?
 ɣō'ox̄ qa taɣō'lɣulēs?—Where is my axe?
 ɣō'ox̄ tca ɣuē'lēs'ēt̄s?—Where is thy knife?
 ātc'ēs qa hā'acēt̄tēt̄s?—What have you bought?
 ɣō'ox̄ qā ō'tll'ē?—Where are my houses?
 ɣō'ox̄ qā tsilō'lexl'ēs?—Where are my canoes?

The Noun.—It appears from the examples given above that the noun has two genders. It is of interest to note that pronominal gender, by means of which male and female are distinguished, is found in all Salishan dialects spoken west of the Cascade range and on the coast of British Columbia, while real gender occurs in all dialects of the Chinook.

The plural is, more properly speaking, a collective, but is frequently used in a way similar to our plural, namely, when the collective and plural ideas nearly coincide. The difference between the two is, however, brought out clearly in the following instance:

ē'sa-i (1) tc'ā'l'ai (2) tca'qul' (3)—many (1) stones are (2) on the beach (3).

l'ē'sai tc'ā'tc'al'a—a heap of stones.

The collective is formed in a variety of ways:

(1) By the prefix *ts* with the first vowel of the stem:

Singular.	Collective.	
ha'maa	tsha'hamaa	tree.
tsu'qot	tsitsu'qot	lake.
a'māas	tsaa'māas	grandparent.
hēlō'lexl'	tsilō'lexl'	canoe.

(2) By reduplication:

hau'atska	hahau'atska	deer.
quē'ltēm	qaquē'ltēm	European (borrowed from
xu'elēs	xuxuē'lēs	knife. [Clallam].
tē'el'lāas	tētēel'a'as	husband.

(3) By diæresis:

tcā'atcis'is	tcāatcā'is'is	my mother's sister.
--------------	---------------	---------------------

(4) By amplification of the stem according to unknown rules; frequently with the infix *ts*:

ko'tlis	kutsi'tlɣaas	my wife.
qā'aqāas	qat ₉ 'ēqāas	my sister's husband.
taɣō'olɣul'	tatsɣō'olɣul'	axe.
ēt ₉ 'ēɣaa	ōot! ₁ 'ō'qɣaa	house.

(5) From distinct stems:

ts'ē'ɣatcil'	kō'la	dead.
--------------	-------	-------

A few nominal suffixes (nouns as used in compounds) form plurals:

-ātcēt, plural: -ts'ā'it, blanket; pēcā'tcēt, white blanket;

tlakuats'ā'it, two blankets.

-tē'ia, plural: -ta, day; kuētē'ia, one day; mē'ēsta, four days.

-χtsēl, plural: -aχal, person in canoe.

Numerals.—

Counting.	Persons.	Canoes.	Fathoms.	Dogs or horses.	Persons in canoe.
1 kuē'l'	koā'l'	kuē'ēkō	kē'l'ōlō	kuē'ēns	kuē'χtsēl
2 l'a'kua	l'a'wuxas	l'a'kuakū	l'a'kuēlō	l'a'kuāns	l'a'waxaχal
3 χoā'lē	χoā'l'tsō	χoā'lakū	χolē'lō	χoalā'ns	χoā'lētsaχal
4 mē'ēs	mē'ēs	mē'ēskō	mē'ēsa'lō	mē'ēsēns	mēē'saχal
5 tcā'aa	tcā'aa	tcā'aakū		tcā'aans	
6 tsē'l'as	tsē'l'as	tsē'l'askū		tsē'l'āsēns	
7 ts!χō'olkoant		ts!χō'olkoantkō		ts!χō'olχoantēns	
8 χl'oa'yēkoant		χl'oa'yēkoantkō			
9 kuē'l'tsqal		kuē'tsqalkō			
10 tc!ē'taa		tc!ē'tā'akū			
11 tc!ē'taa qsi kuē'l'					
20 koā'l'atstci					
30 χoalā'koanlo					
40 mē'ēskoanlō, (etc., up to)					
100 tc!ē'tkoanlō					

The numerals seven, eight, and ten mean the first, second, and fourth fingers, respectively. Nine is derived from one, meaning, probably, ten less one; twenty is one man, thus indicating the vigesimal origin of the numerical system. It appears from the above list that numerals may be compounded with any of the innumerable nominal suffixes.

kuē'ēsēlō, once.

l'a'kuasēlō, twice.

Personal Pronouns.—

lā'al', I. tsē'ia, thou. ō'ētcō, he.

mā'al', we. tsē'ial', you. ? they.

Possessive Pronouns.—

tā'ēlaai—it is mine.

hēlē'ets'ē—it is thine.

(hēlē'ets'ai ō'otcō—that is his.)

(hēlēets'ai ō'uksō—that is hers.)

mā'al'ōoi—it is ours.

hēlēesti'tcē—it is yours.

hēlēetcă'as—it is theirs.

-ēs, my. -ēts, thy. -qēs, his. -tcuks, her.
-t_qux, our. -stētc, your. -tcāas, their.

For instance: ta_qo'lqul'ēs—my axe. hē'nēētcuks—her father.
hē'nēt_qux—our father.

Intransitive Verb.—

	Singular.	Plural.
1st person,	-la, -lē	-ma
2d “	-ēts	-ētsāl'
3d “ masc.,	-tēq, -ē	} -aē
3d “ fem.,	-uks	

For instance:—from kuētsā'at, sick:

kuētsā'atēla—I am sick. kuētsā'ataē—they are sick.

Tenses are formed by a series of affixes, which are placed following the stem of the verb and preceding the pronominal suffix. There are a great many of these suffixes, but I am sure of the meaning of the following only: -kuē, future; -tsī, perfect; -lēm, imperfect (see following page, transitive verb).

ḡōtcilekuē'la—I shall drink.

takuil'tsē'la (1) kuē'tsaatais (2)—yesterday I have been (1) sick (2).

Interrogative:

kuētsā'atal'ē—am I sick?

kuētsā'atatts—art thou sick?

kuētsā'at'ē—is he sick?

kuētsā'atātētsl'—are you sick?

kuētsā'at'aē—are they sick?

Negative:

	Singular.
1st person,	kuā'alqa kuētsā'al'ī'ē.
2d “	kuā'alqa kuētsā'al'tēts!
3d “ masc.,	kuā'alqa kuētsā'al'tētca'as.
3d “ fem.,	kuā'alqa kuētsā'al'tē'etcuks.

	Plural.
1st person,	kuā'alqa kuētsā'al'tē't _q ux.
2d “	kuā'alqa kuētsā'al'tēstētc.
3d “	kuā'alqa kuētsā'al'tētca'as.

It appears that the endings of the negative coincide closely with the possessive pronouns, while those of the indicative agree with the personal pronoun.

Transitive Verb.—

I have only an imperfect record of the forms of the transitive verb with incorporated pronominal object. The most striking peculiarity of these forms is the separation of pronominal subject and object by the temporal character. In the following table = signifies the stem of the verb, — the temporal character :

me.	thee.	him.	her.
I	=q—la	= —laē	= —layuks
thou=l—tsa		= —tsaaē	= —tsayuks
he =ē—la	=ē—tsa		
we	=q—ma	= —maē	= —mayuks
us.	you.	them.	
I	=q—lā'al'ōl'	= —layaē	= —tsāēyaē
thou=lao—tsa			
he =ē —ma	=ē —tsā'al'ōl'		
we	=q—mā'al'ōl'	= —ma'yaē	

For instance :—*āēltsē'squkuē'la*, I feed thee. *tēpātēlaolē'mtsa*, thou hast vanquished us. *āēltsēsqukuē'ma*, we feed thee.

Suffixes which are used for forming derivations are placed in the same position in which the temporal characters are found. For instance, with *-t!at!*, which forms the desiderative :—*tāxuksēlot!a't-lēma*, he wants to strike us (from *tāx-*, to strike).

The reflexive is formed by the suffix *-itqa* :—*qoatst!atcitqala*, I wash my hands (*qoats-*, washing ; *-t!atc*, hand ; *-itqa*, reflexive ; *-la*, I).

When the verb is accompanied by an adverb, the latter is inflected, while the verb remains unchanged. A frequentative is formed by amplification of the verbal stem.

Formation of Words.—

A great number of nouns are found in two forms, independent and dependent, the latter being used for the formation of compounds. When numerals, adjectives, verbs, or other nouns are connected with such nouns, the dependent form must be used. It seems that all these dependent forms are suffixed. For instance : *-spa*, fire ; *kuē'espa*, one fire ; *mā'ttcaspa*, a great fire ; *la'uspēla*, to pour water into fire.

It seems that in many cases there is no traceable connection between the dependent and independent forms of the noun.

	Independent.	In compounds.	
back	ɣ!ʼēʼenōkoat	-ɣ!ʼēnuk	tʼcāʼapɣ!ʼēnukoatqala, I warm my back.
belly	ɣaʼmātcit	-ēʼtcē	kuaxēʼtcē, scar on belly.
breast	tamētsaʼmlʼit	-tsamlʼō	t!ʼēttsaʼmlʼōt, half fathom, viz., middle of breast.
blanket	pēʼestsʼatc	-atcēt	tcenāʼnōɣatcēt, dog-hair blanket.
canoe	hēʼlōlaɣ!ʼ	-kō	mēʼēskō, four canoes.
day	— sing.	-tēʼia plur. -ta	lʼākuata, two days.
dollar		-tcēʼsīt	lʼakuatcēʼsīt, two dollars.
domestic animal (dog and horse)		-ans	kutsaʼpatans, bitch, mare.
ear	sislʼált	t!ʼa	ɣuxuyēt!ʼaʼa, deaf.
face	kulʼōʼɣulʼ	-lʼō, -l	kuáɣ!ʼō, scar on face; qoats-litqala, I wash my face.
finger	—	-koanu	ɣ!ʼauʼikoanut, finger-ring.
fire	nēʼia	-spa	māʼttcaspa, a great fire.
foot	láakut	-anqō	kōolánqō, lame.
hand	tʼatct	-tʼatc	ɣ!ʼautʼátct, bracelet.
head	qaʼnēt	-tʼēɣ! -t!ʼēt	cāʼactʼēɣ!, bald. tōʼpt!ʼēt, head-ring; = “tied around head.”
house	ot!lʼē	-tēʼtcō	alēutētctōʼola, I build a house.
language	—	-tɣulō	Bostontɣuʼlō, English.
mind	—	-ēqatc	lʼ!ōoméʼqatc, courageous = strong-minded.
moon	ts!ētsuʼɣ!ʼa	-t!ʼelʼōʼa	kuáʼɣt!ʼēlʼōʼa, half moon.
mouth	ɣōʼotō	-ɣ!ʼō	tsāuqoáʼɣ!ʼō, mouth bleeds.
neck	ɣ!ʼamōʼɣs	-ɣōs	pāʼatēɣōs, collar bone.
nose	sēmōʼsēt	-ōs	lʼōɣ!ʼōsēt, perforation of nose.
point	—	-t!ʼēɣoa	lux!ʼut!ʼēʼɣoala, I cut off point.
river	ɣuʼmāa	-atsit	māʼttcatsit, large river.
trail	mōʼɣlunt	-lʼēmēt	kuēēlʼēʼmēt, one trail.
tree	hámaa	-tcat -pat	kuēʼetcat, one tree. ɣāʼēltcitpat, maple; = “paddle tree.”

water	ts!ʔʊa	-sēna	*tcitc'e'sēnāala, I jump into water.
to look	——	-al'sē	ts'ēlēkoā'l'sē, looking up.
made with	——	-tcil'	ta'xstatcil', chips, "made with axe."
instrument	——	-xul'	koā'atxul', whetstone;—"instrument for sharpening."